

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 VO-03 SCA-01 DHA-02 IO-13 ACDA-07 EB-07  
STR-04 ITC-01 TRSE-00 ORM-02 OES-07 BIB-01 /106 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE:ARTHOMPSON:LM

APPROVED BY EUR: A. A. HARTMAN

EUR:JAARMITAGE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 102125

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, EEW, CVIS, SHUM, SOPN, PL

SUBJEC.; VICE FOREIGN MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S TALKS IN  
DEPARTMENT

1. SUMMARY. IN TALKS HERE APRIL 28-29 AT INVITATION OF  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN, SPASOWSKI MET BRIEFLY WITH  
SECRETARY, CALLED ON DEPUTY SECRETARY, AND EXCHANGED  
VIEWS AT LENGTH WITH EUR, IO AND ACDA. VICE FOREIGN  
MINISTER STRESSED POLES' DESIRE FOR REASSURANCE THAT  
U.S. IS CONTINUING POLICY OF DETENTE AND OF PROMOTING  
EXPANDED RELATIONS WITH POLAND; HE REPORTED THAT SOVIETS  
HAD RECENTLY GIVEN HIM VERY DOWNBEAT PRESENTATION OF  
PROSPECTS FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. U.S. SIDE UNDERLINED  
ITS DETERMINATION TO WORK OUT AGREEMENTS WITH SOVIETS  
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WHICH CAN ACTUALLY IMPROVE SECURITY AND WHICH WILL BE  
UNDERSTOOD AND SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND  
CONGRESS. U.S. SPOKESMEN ALSO REAFFIRMED POLICY OF  
WORKING TOWARD IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH POLAND WHILE  
MAKING CLEAR SUCH BROADENED TIES MUST INCLUDE GREATER  
RESPONSIVENESS BY POLES ON REUNITING DIVIDED FAMILIES.  
AS EXPECTED, SPASOWSKI COMPLAINED PARTICULARLY ABOUT  
OBSTACLES TO POLISH EXPORTS TO U.S. AND ABOUT RFE BROAD-  
CASTS TO POLAND. HE ALSO ATTACKED WHAT HE CLAIMED TO

BE ANTI-POLISH CAMPAIGN MOUNTED IN FRG. END SUMMARY.

2. TALKS OPENED APRIL 28 WITH TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR SESSION CHAIRED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN (REPORT OF OTHER CONVERSATIONS TO FOLLOW IN SEPTEL). IN WELCOMING REMARKS HARTMAN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THIS EARLY OPPORTUNITY GIVEN NEW ADMINISTRATION TO REVIEW ALL ASPECTS OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH HIGH-LEVEL VISITOR FROM POLAND.

3. BILATERAL RELATIONS: SPASOWSKI ECHOED HARTMAN'S REMARK THAT U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS HAD GREATLY IMPROVED IN LAST FIVE YEARS AND TERMED THEM NOW "FULLY NORMALIZED". SPASOWSKI STRESSED GROWTH OF HUMAN CONTACTS, ESPECIALLY NUMBERS OF PERSONS VISITING IN RECENT YEARS (51,000 AMERICANS TO POLAND, 24,000 POLES TO U.S. IN 1976). REFERRING TO MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY, HE SAID GOP WISHED TO CONTINUE AND BROADEN GOOD RELATIONS WITH U.S. HE QUICKLY GOT INTO COMPLAINT THAT HINDRANCES TO POLISH EXPORTS TO U.S. WERE DIMMING PROSPECT THAT GOAL OF TWO BILLION DOLLARS TOTAL ANNUAL TRADE WITH U.S. COULD BE REACHED BY 1980. CITING ANTIDUMPING CASE (GOLF CARTS), LIMITATIONS ON IMPORTS (TEXTILES, SHOES, STEEL), COUNTER-VAILING DUTIES, CHARGES BASED ON ANTI-TRUST LAWS (LIMITING ORBIS AND LOT OPERATIONS), "VARIOUS REGULATIONS OF LIMITING NATURE" (E.G., FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT  
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AND ACTIVITIES OF POLISH TRADE OFFICE IN SAN FRANCISCO), AND FISHERIES (BID FOR ADEQUATE QUOTAS), SPASOWSKI ASKED THAT NEW ADMINISTRATION INVOLVE ITSELF MORE IN ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AFFECTING POLAND, APPEALING FOR ATTENTION TO POLES' UNFAVORABLE BALANCE OF TRADE WITH US. HE WENT ON TO THANK USG FOR CCC GRAIN CREDITS, EXIM CREDITS AND SETTLEMENT OF SUCH ISSUES AS DANZIG GOLD. F.Y.I.: WE ASKED POLISH EMBASSY OFFICERS WHY THEY HAD NOT RAISED ORBIS-LOT PROBLEM WITH US BEFORE SPASOWSKI HAD. THEY SAID THERE HAD BEEN ANTI-TRUST CASE BECAUSE ORBIS HAD REFUSED TO PERMIT CARRIERS OTHER THAN LOT TO CARRY ITS TOUR GROUPS TO AND FROM POLAND. POLISH EMBASSY SAYS PROBLEM ALREADY TAKEN CARE OF BY SETTLEMENT OUT OF COURT IN WHICH ORBIS AGREED TO USE PANAM AS WELL AS LOT.

4. HARTMAN REAFFIRMED IMPORTANCE TO U.S. OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH POLAND AND OUR INTEREST IN CONTINUING ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WHICH HAD BROUGHT SUCH GREAT BENEFITS TO BOTH SIDES. IN RESPONDING TO SPASOWSKI ON TRADE PROBLEMS, HARTMAN EMPHASIZED THAT U.S. MARKET IS NOT CLOSED, WE ARE NOT DISCRIMINATING AGAINST NON-MARKET ECONOMIES, PRESSURES FOR PROTECTIONISM ARE BEING RESISTED, BUT POLES SHOULD

OBTAIN EXPERT ADVICE IN ORDER TO OPERATE AS SUCCESSFULLY AS POSSIBLE IN U.S. MARKET. HE ENCOURAGED CONTINUING U.S.-

POLISH TRADE TALKS BY EXPERTS.

5. POLISH INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS: SPASOWSKI REVIEWED GOP POLICY OF RAPID INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND "ADJUSTMENTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY TO CURRENT NEEDS." HE ASSERTED THAT POLAND WAS NOT OVER-ESTIMATING ITS INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES. HE DESCRIBED EFFORTS FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION AS NOT ONLY CORRECT BUT UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE DESPITE EVENTS OF LAST JUNE AND NOTWITHSTANDING CRITICISM BY SMALL GROUP WHICH DID NOT REPRESENT POLISH PEOPLE. RE HARD-CURRENCY DEBTS BUILT UP IN PROCESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

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TION, HE NOTED THAT POLAND HAS ALWAYS FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENTS.

6. REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES: HARTMAN REVIEWED SITUATION AND REFLECTED DEEP U.S. CONCERN OVER GROWING NUMBERS OF CASES. HE REFERRED TO COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF UNRESOLVED, CURRENT CASES GIVEN TO SPASOWSKI BY AMBASSADOR DAVIES ALONG WITH SHORT LIST OF MOST URGENT CASES. IN PRESSING FOR GREATER RESPONSIVENESS BY POLISH AUTHORITIES TO PASSPORT APPLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF DIVIDED FAMILIES, HARTMAN COUPLED HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS WITH WARNING THAT THIS SUBJECT REPRESENTS POTENTIAL PROBLEM OF MAJOR DIMENSIONS AFFECTING OUR RELATIONSHIP. HE REMINDED SPASOWSKI OF LARGE NUMBERS INVOLVED IN POLISH AGREEMENT TO LET ETHNIC GERMANS EMIGRATE AND OF THE FRACTION OF THAT FIGURE WE WERE DEALING WITH IN OUR DIVIDED FAMILY CONTEXT. HARTMAN SAID THAT PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THESE CASES WOULD HAVE TO BE A PART OF ANY CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT OF U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS. SPASOWSKI AGREED IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO LOOK INTO DIVIDED FAMILY PROBLEM IN ORDER TO ANTICIPATE FUTURE DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM THESE CASES, BUT HE REFUSED TO ACCEPT ETHNIC GERMAN EMIGRATION AS PRECEDENT FOR OUR DIVIDED FAMILY CASES, WHICH HE SAID ALL INVOLVED ETHNIC POLES. SPASOWSKI CLAIMED POLES MADE "REAL EFFORT" WHERE HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS WERE INVOLVED AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WAS PRESENT. HE MAINTAINED THAT MANY CASES ON OUR LISTS INVOLVE "ECONOMIC EMIGRATION" RATHER THAN REAL DIVIDED FAMILIES; IN THESE CASES, POLAND'S NATIONAL NEEDS OUTWEIGHED DESIRE OF PEOPLE TO WORK IN UNITED STATES. HE REITERATED THAT GOP WOULD GIVE GREAT ATTENTION TO TRUE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH IN SOME CASES PROBLEMS OF SECURITY OR ESSENTIAL SKILLS MIGHT TAKE TIME TO BE RESOLVED. HARTMAN SAID IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR US TO SEE SOME PROGRESS IN RESOLVING DIVIDED FAMILY CASES WHETHER

OR NOT THERE WAS BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON DEFINITION OF WHAT  
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CONSTITUTES DIVIDED FAMILIES.

7. DETENTE: SPASOWSKI LINKED BROADENED U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS WITH ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE, IN WHICH POLAND'S "VITAL INTEREST AS STATE AND NATION IS INVOLVED"--WHEN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL WERE POOR, POLISH-U.S. RELATIONS INEVITABLY SUFFERED. HARTMAN REVIEWED THE LONG-TERM PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE. HE UNDERLINED USG DETERMINATION TO WORK OUT AGREEMENTS WITH SOVIETS WHICH CAN ACTUALLY IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WHICH WILL BE UNDERSTOOD AND SUPPORTED BY AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS. SPASOWSKI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HARTMAN'S DETAILED TREATMENT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, CONTRASTING IT WITH PESSIMISTIC READING OF SUBJECT HE HAD HEARD FROM SOVIETS TEN DAYS EARLIER. SPASOWSKI NOTED INFERENCE HE HAD DRAWN FROM SOVIETS THAT OUR ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSAL HAD BEEN PROPAGANDA AND NOT SUBSTANTIVE IN NATURE. HE INDICATED HIS OWN DOUBTS MAY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

8. CONSULAR RELATIONS: SPASOWSKI SAID IT WAS CLEAR BOTH SIDES WANTED TO FACILITATE VISA ISSUANCE. MAIN PROBLEM HE SAW WAS IN ASSURING ADEQUATE SECURITY AND PROPER CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR POLISH CONSULAR OFFICIALS IN U.S.--REFERENCE TO FRAUDULENT LETTERS SENT OUT UNDER NAMES OF OFFICIALS OF POLISH CONSULATE GENERAL IN NEW YORK. HARTMAN SAID U.S. AUTHORITIES WERE STILL INVESTIGATING PROBLEM OF FRAUDULENT LETTERS.

9. CULTURE/EDUCATION/SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION: SPASOWSKI ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR TWO COUNTRIES TO SIGN CULTURAL AGREEMENT AND URGED U.S. TO DO MORE TO HELP POLES PRESENT A VIEW OF CONTEMPORARY POLAND TO AMERICANS. RICHMOND (CU/EE) REPLIED THAT U.S. SIDE UNDERSTOOD POLES' POSITION REGARDING GREATER POLISH CULTURAL PRESENCE IN U.S. BUT BELIEVED BOTH  
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GOVERNMENTS HAD IN PAST SHARED OPINION THAT CULTURAL AGREEMENTS TEND TO LIMIT AND BUREAUCRATIZE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS. BOTH SIDES GAVE UPBEAT VIEW OF VALUE OF SCIENTIFIC/TECHNOLOGICAL JOINT PROJECTS.

10. RFE: SPASOWSKI SAID HIS GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED BROADCASTS OF RFE POLISH SERVICE "EXCEPTIONALLY

NEGATIVE" IN THEIR COVERAGE OF POLISH SCENE. HE CLAIMED BROADCASTS VIOLATED BASIC PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER STATE AND HARMED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS BY ATTACKING POLISH INSTITUTIONS AND AUTHORITIES, INCITING ILLEGAL AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY. HARTMAN REFERRED TO INTERNAL GUIDELINES OF RFE AND CITED CSCE SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL

BROADCASTING. HE ASKED SPASOWSKI TO GIVE US SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF RFE BROADCASTS POLES FELT WERE INCITEFUL. SPASOWSKI NOTED THAT IN RECENT WEEKS THERE HAD BEEN INTENSIFICATION OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT NEWS, ANTI-AUTHORITIES BROADCASTING AND SOME PROGRAMS WERE NOTABLY OFFENSIVE. SOME IN POLAND HAD SPOKEN OF NEED TO RESUME JAMMING. HARTMAN SAID WE WOULD LOOK INTO THIS CHARGE. HARTMAN BROUGHT UP IN THAT CONTEXT RECENT POLISH PRESS CRITICISMS OF U.S. POLICY WHICH HAVE TURNED TO PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRESIDENT CARTER PERSONALLY. HARTMAN EXPLAINED PRESIDENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN AS AN ACCURATE EXPRESSION OF THIS NATION'S BELIEFS, NOT INTRUSION INTO INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. SPASOWSKI SAID FOREIGN MINISTRY AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SHARED OUR CONCERN ABOUT STATEMENTS IN POLISH PRESS ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER. SPASOWSKI REGRETTED PRESS STORIES HAD BEEN READ AS PERSONAL ATTACKS--"THIS IS NOT THE WAY WE LIKE TO SEE ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN POLISH PRESS."

11. FRG: EARLY IN MEETING SPASOWSKI INSERTED SUBJECT OF ALLEGED ANTI-POLISH MANIFESTATIONS IN FRG, E.G.,  
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TERMING ETHNIC GERMANS EMIGRATING FROM POLAND "EXPELLEES", USING OLD GERMAN NAMES FOR POLISH CITIES, FAILING TO CARRY OUT FRG RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT CHANGING SCHOOL TEXTBOOK TREATMENT OF POLAND. SPASOWSKI COMPLAINED THAT CDU/CSU MEMBERS WERE JOINING "REVISIONISTS OF THE PAST" IN THIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLAND, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SPD/FDP WERE NOT INVOLVED. HE HOPED CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WOULD BE ABLE TO "CLARIFY ISSUE" DURING HIS VISIT TO POLAND THIS YEAR. HARTMAN RESPONDED THAT CHANCELLOR HAD RECENTLY REITERATED TO SECRETARY AND HIMSELF HIS STRONG DESIRE TO MAKE FRG AGREEMENTS WITH POLAND WORK WELL, EVEN IF IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTROL STATEMENTS BY PEOPLE OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT. VANCE

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